1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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428 A typical instance of male succession is that of Kaṡada and his three nephews. Apart from other holdings Kaṡada's father owned a large tract (from Camps 55 to 57 and beyond, see map, Fig. 50) which Kaṡada and his elder brother inherited. The three sons of the latter fell heir to his share. In the flood of 1911 the creek assumed a new course, dividing this tract neatly in two; whereupon Kaṡada took the section [138] west of the creek for his own and gave up using any part of the eastern portion. His nephews kept the eastern tract undivided, even after the death of the middle member of the trio. All three lived together on this tract (Camp 57) until the youngest, Tobey, established his home on land inherited from his maternal grandmother's brother (Camp 55). A small part of the tract south of Camp 55 lay abandoned for years. Kaṡada's intention of reclaiming it was well known at the time of my first visit, but considered vague; in 1919, he cleared it.

Bob's land was inherited by his widow and her adult son by a former husband. Bob had no male relatives; his older sister, who is well provided for, and another sister's grandson, who often lived with him, received nothing. The heirs have not divided the land.

Nina planted a cornfield independent of her husband. The field belonged to her father's younger brother, Panamida, who let her use it for the support of her two small sons. 423 After her death, Panamida took it back, planting there the next season contrary to custom, but with the approval of the community. Panamida gives some of the corn to Nina's sons.

An uncultivated field, now used only as the dance ground, is claimed by Smiley and Panamida. Smiley, who owned the land, gave it to his daughter for the use of her children; she having married Panamida. She and all her children, save one, are now dead. Panamida claims the field as his, but Smiley says that now the children are dead the field is his again.

425 Land is also exchanged and sold. Sinyella exchanged a strip of corn land near Rock Jones's house with the latter for a piece below Navaho Falls on which he then planted fig trees. When Jess married he bought a piece of uncleared land for a house site and pasture from Manakadja (an acre and a half for thirty-five dollars). In a measure, this is land given for support of a woman relative—although the price is fair enough—since Jess's wife formerly lived with Manakadja, her mother's father and her nearest male relative save one.

The products of the land belong to those who own it. Others who 423 assist in caring for the harvest, etc., have no proprietary rights although 465 they are commonly paid in kind. This is distinctly compensation. For instance, on one occasion Sinyella had eight women assisting him in curing the fruit of the many peach trees he owns. Two were members of his family group; the others were not closely related. Each one received part of the crop in payment.

Natural products also belong to the land-owner. Trees and brush 423 may not be cut without his consent. Austin owns a cornfield, inherited from his paternal grandfather, west of the old creek bed. In the flood of

464 $50 to $70 for most of the year; school laborer, $35 to $50, and school house-
657 keeper and cook, $120.
465 In 1958 the salaried positions open to Havasupai living on the reservation included postmaster, tribal tourist manager, policeman, and mail carrier. Salaries for three of the jobs ranged from $60 to $150 per month. The mail carrier was on an annual salary of $4100. Of 30 families, 24 received welfare assistance, the income from this source totaling about $2,500 per month. Victor Collins, the resident agent, estimated that 15 men packing for the store and the tourist enterprise averaged approximately $750 each annually. He placed the garden crop value at about $300 per family. Perhaps an index to the cash income for the tribe may be found in the amount spent for groceries at the tribal grocery store. It was reported that an average $2,000 grocery order is stocked at approximately six week intervals.

For some years prior to 1951, the Indian Service annually paid an estimated average of $800 to $1,000 for repair of ditches damaged by flood in Supai. Kelly (1953, 53) reports the Office of Indian Affairs budget for 1953 to have been $2,545 for irrigation operation in Supai, which sum, of course, covered costs in addition to wages.

231 About 20 Havasupai families each own a few head of cattle which bring
511 a small and sporadic cash income and furnish some meat for family consump-
434 tion. The number of horses owned by the Havasupai is pertinent to their cattle ownership problems. For many years, available range was overstocked with horses which the owners could not be induced to sell. After much urging, the Havasupai sold three carloads of horses in 1947, and in subsequent years their herd was further reduced to a level more consistent with their needs and with their expressed desire to increase cattle herds. However, the presence of wild horses which deplete available range continues to pose a problem.

434 Some minor sources of income include sale to tourists of baskets
511 woven by a few of the Havasupai women, sale of a few tanned buckskins by men to members of other tribes, and winning of rodeo prizes by younger men who enter competitions in neighboring communities. Havasupai men, being
[469] excellent horsemen, are in demand by neighboring ranchers. Perhaps more than a dozen young men work periodically as ranch hands and regularly participate in autumn roundups of cattle owned by the Walapai tribe and by white ranchers.

464 Havasupai who leave the canyon to find employment outside may be-
166 come permanent residents of neighboring communities, but their ties with
[574] relatives living in the canyon and their sense of identification with the tribe remain strong. Visits to Supai are made with some frequency, and such
● [425] individuals do not voluntarily relinquish claim to lands in the canyon. If their fields are used by others, as they usually are, ownership will pass in

time (perhaps without recognition of the transfer by the former owner), to canyon residents by right of aced and usage (Spier 1928, 231, Service 1947, 364). 464 166 [425]

Individuals who find permanent or temporary employment outside Supai may contribute to the support of close relatives remaining in the canyon, although usually such assistance is in the form of small gifts, or perhaps loans. Havasupai families remaining away from Supai for long periods tend to move from town to town. While this is doubtless traceable in some degree to local employment markets, many of these families seem periodically drawn to communities where other Havasupai are living, especially to Grand Canyon Village. [431]

About a mile from Grand Canyon Village, a number of Havasupai families occupy a small group of frame cabins provided for them. Other Havasupai families live in Grand Canyon proper. Until recently a few families lived at Rowe Well and Hopi Tower, each only a few miles distant, and the mail carrier's family was at Pasture Wash, about 30 mi. to the southwest, near Topocoba Hilltop. Families located in and near Grand Canyon Village constitute the largest concentration of Havasupai population off the reservation. Havasupai families there in no sense make up an independent community, being instead wholly dependent upon the community of Grand Canyon for employment and for all public services. A nucleus of eight Grand Canyon Havasupai families may be considered permanent residents, some of them having lived there continuously for 10 or 15 years. These residents are, for the most part, families in which an adult male has held the same job for a number of years. Attached to these family groups are several single or widowed men who also are permanently employed at Grand Canyon. 361 162 166 161 166

Temporary Grand Canyon residents include: (1) families who normally reside either on the reservation or in neighboring towns, but who move to Grand Canyon now and then for periods ranging from a few months to several years; (2) relatives who come to visit singly or in family groups for days, weeks, or longer, and some who may come to spend the winter months; and (3) a summer influx of individuals of both sexes, usually unmarried young adults, needed for temporary employment during the heaviest tourist season. Many persons in this third category belong to family groups in Supai, their earnings thus being significant to economy on the reservation. Temporary employment may be found by most of this group in cabin or hotel maid service, kitchen work, laundry, or garbage disposal, while miscellaneous employment as stablehands, truck drivers, mechanics, housemaids for resident families, etc., may be available. [464]

Havasupai who are permanently employed at Grand Canyon or elsewhere contribute less to reservation income than do individuals temporarily employed and belonging to households in Supai. Permanent employees of course, contribute indirectly by relieving competition for canyon resources 434

8:Service E-5 (1946) 1947
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423 planted stand in the fields and rot or are destroyed. These things are so closely
[422 bis that it seems disgraceful that anyone else should consider using them after
768 he is dead. The land, however, is not so closely associated with the man who
uses it. He can plant on it whatever he chooses, but has no right to dispose of it
as he sees fit without consulting his relatives, and additionally, the opinion of the
[425] whole closely integrated community is an important factor influencing any deci-
sion he may wish to make.

177 Tribal government is vested in the three native chiefs who are now permanent
648 members of the council created by the Indian Office, but the chiefs and the
428 council exercise little authority, although they are encouraged to do so. Prob-
621 lems of inheritance and land rights, if not solved by the family, are usually
argued out and settled by general public opinion, or in extreme cases of non-
agreement are carried to the Government Agent as a last resort. For several
years the Indian Office has encouraged the Havasupai to make legal statements
and wills which would settle the disputes so often attending redistribution of
land after a death. These attempts were, of course, based on the assumption
that the Havasupai men owned their land as we own ours. That this assumption
was not accurate,[5] however, is attested by the fact that in most of the few cases
on record, the wills were disputed, and the land was finally redistributed accord-
ing to the usual complex pattern which pays little or no attention to any per-
verse notions of the previous occupant.

423 When Prince Wodo was a feeble old man, he wanted to turn his land over
578 to Lemuel Paya and Henry Hanna, who had been caring for him. Henry was a
cousin, and Lemuel was a more distant relative by marriage. Wodo's daughter
Lily, and his niece Katie, who had not taken any responsibility for his care, were
left out. They started a fuss which became quite bitter. It is said that the old
man was so upset that he locked himself in his house, set fire to it, and burned
to death. Katie and Lily divided the land. The inheritance pattern which justi-
fied this will be discussed below; suffice it at present to note that even in this
dramatic situation, Prince Wodo had no voice in the disposition of the land
which he had worked all his life.

121 It should be apparent from the above discussion that familial rights outrank
125 individual rights. As mentioned before, however, the fact of disputes and
428

Complex of the Pueblos (in *Essays in Anthropology Presented to A. L. Kroeber*, pp. 229-232, Berkeley, 1936).

5 This is not said as criticism, and furthermore it does not apply to Mr Noble O. Gutheis, the present sub-agent in charge at Supai. He has made a sincere effort to understand the ways of the Indians, and has achieved considerable success. I am extremely indebted to him for his interest and cooperation.